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territory, its amalgamation with North-Western Rhodesia, and the transfer of responsibility from the British South Africa Company to the Colonial Office. Statutory instruments issued under these and later Orders have provided legal backing for successive schemes of African Administration.

In 1900 the Fort Jameson Division, containing the country occupied by the Ngoni, Kunda and part of the Cewa tribes, was established as part of the East Luangwa District, stretching from the Nyasaland border to the River Luangwa. The names of these areas were later changed to Fort Jameson District and Eastern Province respectively, and there have been numerous changes in their boundaries during the last fifty years, though none of them have affected the Ngoni. To avoid confusion, we shall use the term District only in its modern usage. In charge of the African population of the District was a Native Commissioner responsible to a Magistrate, posts corresponding roughly to the modern District Commissioner and Provincial Commissioner. The Native Commissioner, with his assistants who were Whites, had a force of Native messengers (otherwise known as boma messengers) attached to his office to convey instructions to the people of the District and to report irregularities to him. The Administrator, head of the Administration, appointed chiefs in charge of tribal districts (smaller than the Administrative Districts already mentioned), and under them were district headmen appointed by the Secretary for Native Affairs. There were also district messengers who lived in their villages, but assisted the Native Commissioner when he toured in their vicinity.

This scheme was regularized by the issue of the Native Commissioners' Regulations of 12 December 1908, made under King's Regulations of the same date. Minor amendments were introduced in 1913 and 1915, and a consolidating Proclamation was issued in 1916. This again was amended slightly in 1919.[13] The substance of the scheme was not altered until the enactment in 1929 of the Native Authorities Ordinance. A more comprehensive Ordinance, with provision for Native Treasuries, replaced this in 1936.[14]

The initiative in setting up, maintaining and modifying the system of administration lay with the Whites, not with the Ngoni, who indeed were only one tribe among many to whom the system applied. Yet the Administration endeavoured to enlist the support of chiefs and others who for the most part were persons of high status in their tribes. As early as 1905, the Administrator wrote of an

[13] Proclamations No. 3 of 1913, 11 of 1915, 8 of 1916, and 6 of 1919.
[14] Ordinances No. 32 of 1929, 9 of 1936.

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7. *Villages*

Throughout Ngoni history the village has been an easily recognizable residential unit. Many of the pre-conquest villages, particularly those which were headquarters of major segments, were large clusters of huts with thousands of inhabitants. Although there are none of comparable size to-day, the concept of the village remains. The bulk of the present Ngoni rural population live in discrete clusters of huts housing between fifty and two hundred people. These we call villages. Each village is spatially distinct from the next, and generally is surrounded by garden land and bush.

The post of headman of a single village has never been very important in the scheme of administration. Under the 1903 scheme, district headmen were appointed in charge of groups of villages. After 1916 this term was dropped in favour of minor chief, sub-chief or headman of a group of villages. The men referred to by these names were the people who became county chiefs. Below them no individuals were appointed as leaders of social groups. From at least 1904 onwards there were men called district messengers who carried ornamental spears as badges of office and who carried out the instructions of the Native Commissioner. They had the functions of policemen and messengers, although some of them were heads of villages in their own right. In 1916, the title of these men was changed to divisional headmen, and they were described as being heads of groups of villages. Nevertheless, at least among the Ngoni, most divisional headmen continued to act merely as messengers and police, and leadership of groups of villages continued to rest with the variously styled minor chiefs. After 1929 the work of divisional headmen was taken over partly by the Native Authority messengers and partly by land messengers, who are Government (Boma) messengers sent to live rurally from time to time.

Yet although the office of village headman has not been of Administrative significance, the village has always been an important social group. We have seen that even in pre-conquest times, when the State as a whole was much more concentrated spatially than it is now, the fact of common residence was of significance within the segmentary residential system. The village had a central cattle byre. Its headman was known by a special term and once a primal segment had grown to village size the segment name was not applied to any residual segment within the headquarters village. The policy of the Administration, combined with a change in kinship relations among the tribe (a change from the quasi-

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the post of deputy is still of significance,[7] but in the life of the county the chief's deputy does not play a great part. One man appointed as chief's deputy went to Southern Rhodesia but no one has been appointed in his place and the chief manages without a deputy.

Another traditional post which still functions is that of chief's messenger.[8] This post is quite distinct from that of district messenger who is an employee of the Administration, and of Native Authority messenger. The district messengers and Native Authority messengers are full-time civil servants, while the chief's messengers are only called upon from time to time and are not paid. The county chief nominates one man for each cluster of half a dozen villages or so in his county to be responsible for informing the village headmen in his cluster of forthcoming county meetings and royal hunts. Sometimes a man who has been nominated accepts his post reluctantly, but it is difficult for him to refuse, and an ambitious man may welcome the appointment for the contact it gives him with his chief.

The royal descent-name *jere* is held by all patrilineal descendants of Zwangendaba's father and by the patrilineal descendants of various other people who were given the name by Zwangendaba or Mpezeni I.[9] Only two county chiefs do not bear this name. People who do not hold it regard all those who do as kinsfolk of the Paramount Chief, and from time to time in the appointment of men to office, the common people have insisted that not all the posts should go to men bearing this name. The Administration has regarded all men named *jere* in the same way, and in its efforts to counter nepotism has made similar stipulations. A simple dichotomy of this kind overlooks the divisions within the royal house and between the agnatic kinsmen of the Paramount Chief and those who have acquired the name by other means. Distant agnatic relationship may imply less identity of interest than close non-agnatic ties. Nevertheless the appointment of councillors and others with non-royal descent names does assist the notion that the people as well as the chief have interests in the common good and share the responsibility of pursuing it.

From time to time efforts are made to create new chieftainships. We have already mentioned one attempt.[10] The initiative comes usually from the junior kinsman of a chief to whom he has

[7] See my 'Village headman', pp. 100-6.
[8] *Linpusa*. cf. Zulu *i(li)*ɮɮusa, messenger sent by a king or chief.
[9] See Bruwer, *Mbiri*, p. 23, for the categories of persons bearing the royal descent name.
[10] See p. 140*f*.

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184 geneous or wholly integrated one. It is a plural society, in which
648 as yet the Administration represents the interests, albeit the enlightened interests, of one caste and the Ngoni belong to another. Ngoni share an interest in tobacco booms with their White and Indian neighbours, and they share an interest in the colour bar with distant tribes, but the field of common interest of Northern Rhodesia, or any other major geographical unit, as a multi-racial whole is still small. Ngoni society has not as yet become as wholly integrated into the larger society as have say, the rural districts of Britain, because the well-integrated larger society does not yet exist. Meanwhile the Ngoni still retain a considerable identity of their own, and the chiefs and the Native Authority provide the nucleus for that identity. As such, the posts of chief and to a lesser extent of councillor have more than mere administrative significance. Native [645] Authority officials are still bound by ties of kinship to their people [602] and are still the living embodiment of sentiments of group loyalty and unity. They may have a variety of roles to play which are recognized as distinct, but they still have little private life, in which what they do is of no public concern. In matters of religion Ngoni identify themselves with their co-religionists, dead or living, [771] in other parts of the world, rather than with their pagan forebears. But in political matters Ngoni still identify themselves with Zwangendaba and Shaka and their successors rather than with the British Administration and the Queen of England. They claim the battle of Jericho as one of their victories, but not yet Trafalgar.

There has always been a clear division between the African
202 full-time employees of the Administration and the chiefs. A formal
648 distinction was made as early as 1904 between the Boma messengers, later known as district messengers, attached to the Native Commissioner's office, and the chiefs and district headmen who lived in their own villages. There were also at that time district messengers, later called divisional headmen, who lived in their own villages but received a few shillings a year as stipend and acted as policemen and messengers for the Administration.

Nowadays the Administration employs Africans in a variety
647 of posts, the most important being those of messenger and clerk.
624 The messengers are mainly stationed in Fort Jameson and Fort
649 Manning and visit the rural areas on specific errands or accompanying a District Officer on tour. From time to time messengers are sent to live at compounds scattered through the countryside, where they remain for a few months at a time and act as rural [693] constables, enforcing laws relating to such activities as cultivation

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167 which we shall be more directly concerned with the smaller
464 groupings of Ngoni society. There are, however, a few points that
[567] must be mentioned here.

In Fort Jameson and in a few of the towns on the Northern
693 Rhodesia railway line there are Ngoni members of the Native
574 Urban Courts. These posts are largely in the gift of the Native
643 Authority although they are not paid by the Native Treasury. The man recommended by the Paramount Chief to the Administration is usually the one appointed, and he acts as a representative of the Native Authority in the town as well as carrying out his duties in the court. He is likely to act as host when a chief visits his town, and messages are sometimes sent through him to men and women who are wanted in connexion with affairs in Ngoniland.

574 Every few years or so a chief goes to visit the towns. Here he
643 is received by his people and those of other Ngoni counties, and
484 may be given substantial presents. The Paramount Chief is sometimes called to Lusaka by the Administration to attend some function, and newly appointed chiefs go to a school near there, where courses of instruction are held for them. Thus although migrants may leave their villages and not return to them for many
[202] years, there are opportunities for them to keep in touch with rural happenings. Most of their contacts are with their kinsfolk, who visit them or write to them, but there are also these links with the political system of the tribe. When political offices have to be filled,
647 not only Ngoni living rurally are considered but also those in the towns whose whereabouts are known. Sometimes the fare is sent for the lorry journey back to Fort Jameson if the town-dweller has no money.

There is little contact between the Fort Jameson group and
167 other Ngoni groups. In 1914 envoys came from the northern
567 Nyasaland group in order, it is said, formally to confirm Mpezeni as Paramount Chief of the Fort Jameson group, but there does not
619 seem to have been any subsequent contact between the heads of
571 the two groups. Individuals from northern Nyasaland from time to time find their way into Fort Jameson District, usually while searching for work on the tobacco farms, in the same way as men from other tribes. These immigrants may persuade some of their
[557] relatives to join them and so build up sufficient following to set themselves up as village headmen.

Contact is naturally closer with the two Nyasaland counties
571 formerly under Mpezeni and many Ngoni in Northern Rhodesia
574 have relatives across the border. The border twists and turns, and there is no physical indication of its existence on the ground save

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939)1960
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539 867 The moral, which was always repeated at the end as part of the story, was that children were warned not to show unkindness to people but to treat them well so that people would bless them. They were reminded that the older sister showed the qualities of pity, courage and obedience, while the younger sister did not hesitate to display disgust and fear and carelessness. It was the older sister who had her ultimate reward as leading wife of a handsome chief, while the younger sister, as a subsidiary wife, had to take second place.

These two folk-tales were popular among the children, even though they were so different from the animal folk-tales, full of humour and absurdities. The children used to shiver with excitement over the Brass-Rod story, especially the little girls, and the boys sucked in their breath when the wind blew and snapped their fingers for the rattling in the pit. Because the stories were serious and had a didactic purpose, Ngoni fathers approved of them, and encouraged the grandmothers to tell them often in order that the children might remember the moral.

Learning how to behave

203 957 [202] Ngoni villages, like the whole Ngoni kingdom, had an efficient system of communication between individuals and groups, but whereas the kingdom had a network of official messengers continually moving between the capital and the outlying sections, the village 'intercom' depended on the children. At any time of day, from first light till after dark, children were moving about the village from one hut to another, from a hut to the kraal gate, taking messages, summoning people, carrying food, reporting arrivals. The messages and summons were all at the bidding of the adults.

576 957 867 202 When a child was called to take a message, he had to respond immediately wherever he was, and run to hear what he was wanted for. Someone calling a child's name, followed by a long drawn out 'Yo—o—o', punctuated all the hours of daylight in a village. When a child was told to call someone

3: Read E-5 (1935-1939) 1960
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older, on reaching them he had to bend one knee, or sit down, and say in a low but clear voice: 'They are calling you.' If a child was sent to call another child to his father because he had a scolding to administer, the bad child had to listen with head bent down, not saying a word or making a sound until the father had finished all he had to say, whether the accusation was just or not. If the child forgot himself and answered back or made excuses, the onlookers would beat the child for being rude to his father. If when taking a message a child had to pass a line or a group of people, he had always to go in front of them, never behind, bending forward from the waist and murmuring as he went by, 'I am before your eyes.' If a child had to give an adult a food basket or any other object, he had to offer it with both hands and bend slightly over it; and when he received it back he always did so with both hands outstretched and bent head.

Acting as messengers constantly, and no child was immune from being called if he or she was in the village, impressed on children from their early years the chief behavioural skills of language and deportment. Taking a message was always a formal occasion, and standards of behaviour in language, posture and gesture were rigidly enforced. We shall see in later chapters how very small children were first taught to thank people for gifts or in response to a greeting, and later to greet people politely themselves. The correct terms in which to address or to refer to relatives formed another stage in learning language skills, and later on came reminders about the use of pronouns and the use of the second person singular and plural of verbs, the first to equals only, the second to all adults, with the third person plural for chiefs and 'great ones'. About the age of five or six a child was told: 'When your mother speaks to a stranger she says "Please (you) sit here". You should speak like this to all people you must honour. Only rude people speak that other way—people who do not know how to thank and how to honour, not like the Ngoni who know these things.'